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The Rights of Self Determination, Democracy, Class and the Struggle of Maubere People

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Abstract

Cold war has ended[2]; U.S. government, who is trying to increase her image as the world's police for democracy; and the economical base of the annexation which had been meaningless right from the start[3]; had still not change the policy of the New Order regime, who is being supported by countries who control United Nations and international institutions, to stubbornly refuse to respect the rights of self determination of the Maubere people.[4] The strategy of the struggle of Maubere people--international lobby and campaign, and mass mobilization and armed struggle inside the country--still results brutal response of New Order regime.[5] And it seems that Maubere people is patiently maintaining those three strategies eventhough its dynamics and movements were always blocked by those countries who control United Nations and international institutions.

Opportunist character of the New Order regime--who at first supported the independence of Maubere people--has actually had a historical background: at first, it was to serve the interests of the cold war, but this reason was added by the emergence of legitimate demand for self determination from West Papuanand the Acheh people.[6] The obstinacy of the New Order regime and her international

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2 And this gave birth to an opinion that tha geo-politics reason of the New Order regime's annexation of Maubere people is now irrelevant.

3 Except for Australia who successfully grabbed oil in Maubere Gap. See also *APPENDIX 1* on the difficulty of capital to invest cause by poor force of production to facilitate.

4 The world change and reasons make so many analysts who sympathetic to the rights of self of determination of Maubere people confused, some of them even plunged to pragmatism--eroded the demand to just asking bigger otonomy for Maubere people.

5 Reports from international institutions on the brutality of the human rights violation in Maubere people land are evidently right: still in the stage of brutality which actually should have been passed in the development of human culture.

6 The fear of New Order regime is that once she gave the independence to Maubere People then the demand for self determination of West Papuan and the Acheh People would be strengthened .

supporters basically also sacrificed Indonesian people: they have to accept a label as a nation who is not in support of the right of other nation for independence, an uncivilized nation; having had to send the peasants' son to the army and then sent over to war in Maubere; and also have to let the regime wastes the money which otherwise could be utilized to solve the problem of poverty.

The policy of opportunist and the obstinacy of the New Order regime should be exposed by historical analysis of Indonesian Society with the emphasis on the origin of the New Order regime; the analysis would give us the understanding that the New Order regime has absolutely no legitimacy to govern Indonesian people, let alone Maubere people; and the analysis would also give us an insight of Indonesian opposition political spectrum who have a sense for Maubere people struggle--a spectrum which include the rights of self determination in their political agenda.

In the current stage of Indonesian people struggle to topple fascist New Order regime down there has emerged a political spectrum which considers that DEMOCRACY in Indonesia is the only solution for the problem of the rights of self determination; they considered that consistent development of democracy would quick on people's adoption of their real problems--class problem--so then people would not trapped in nationalism problem, let alone nationalism for privileges; nationalism problem would be stuck to be the agenda of the struggle of one nation, and difficult to develop into class struggle, since the independence of Maubere people is not to be the political agenda of the political spectrum which consideres themselves progressive and democratic.

A concrete organizational shape of this consciousness is clear: Indonesian people and Maubere people would struggle hand in hand to strengthen the effort to discredit the legitimacy of the New Order Regime to govern Indonesian people, let alone Maubere people. And it means that the New Order regime should be toppled down and replace by a democratic state who implements and respects the rights of self determination of the Maubere people--political self determination; state independence; and the formation of national state. A problem might be appear

when this new national state would be trying to fulfil the real interest of the Maubere people--to solve class problem and poverty. It is not the affairs of Indonesian state, international community would do--such as how Indonesian people ask support from international community to topple down fascist New Order regime.

The History of Indonesian Society and the Origin of New Order Regime

"Indonesian" feudalism gave no economical, political and cultural opportunity for the emergence of bourgeois society. The history of Indonesian feudalism is a history of one massacre to another massacres, one annexation to another annexationonly for power sake, which had given a basis for democratic seed to grow. This era gave a basis for the privileges class and also Indonesian society to learn how to seize, to widen and maintain power in the brutal manners.

The capitalism but induced and developed by colonialism as a consequence of the development of merchantilism of Europe in "Indonesia." In colonial era, evidently some of the brutality of native rulers had been able to be "minimized"; in colonial era Indonesian society absorbed modern economical, political and cultural institution--the "fruit" of European capitalism--which could be utilized to raise the sentiments of nationalism, socialism. But colonialism also introduce/teach repressive political system once these sentiments was capable of being utilized to ask the legitimacy of colonial power and its capitalism.

The era of Japanese fascism destroyed not only Dutch's force of production but also her political dignity. In this era Indonesian society learned the meaning of inconsistency of the struggle by the disclosure of the real character of the fighter of independence who were divided into two camp: the collaborator--who used legal method of struggle--and non-collaborator--who used illegal method of struggle. It is also at this time that Indonesian society experienced and learnt about brutality, mobilization and military bearing.

The post "independence" era characterized by the failure to develop national force of production, by the fact that foreign capital still had a strong hold in strategic area of economy, by launching of white terror (massacre) of 1948, and by, in 1957-1959, destroying the process and dynamics of democratic life--which actually had given the opportunity for Indonesian people to use modern political tools to participate in controlling state affairs. At this time Indonesian Military and the biggest political parties have responsibility for the decline of democracy; In fact then the military become stronger, even the biggest political parties have no capasitiy to control them.

Then the so called New Order regime--the armed capitalists led by Suharto and supported by fake religious leaders, fake social-democrat, and rightist youths/students--then sowed their harvest (learnt from negative aspects of our history): they massacred close to a million communist, left nationalist, their sympathizer, and even innocent people; and until now they even ban the political tools of liberal democracy. Again, Indonesian society learnt how to be undemocratic.

In the earlier time of the New Order regime, the development of the struggle for democracy had found so much difficulty since the brutality caused militant opposition had not been able to emerge, people had no mass political tools, and there was no base for people to have political experiences.[7] But then can not be rejected that the development of capitalism that make New Order regime lost her control on enlightened democratic youths and students movements, who are hand in hand with peasant and worker and radical in their political actions. They who successfully open "democratic space" which encourage other political spectrums to be involve in the political life with their own capacity respectively. [8]

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[7] Let alone after the 1974 and the 1978 and the radical Moslem movements crushed, the oppositions tend to be moderate in their demands and their political actions as well--the NGOs movements since 1970s lack of political perspective, extreme in moderation; the radical liberal democracy movements practically weaker since 1982; the social-democrate movements become moderate to convey their popular vision; the student movements collapsed in 1978-1986; let alone the left movements.

[8] In fact I am not trying to avoid other factors which are the base for the youths and students movements to be easier to grow; I am just saying that only them who successfully response the historical culmination of those factors. And it is historical facts of Indonesian political dynamics.

Political Spectrum in Indonesia and the Agenda of the Rights of Self Determination

The suffering of Maubere people propagated illegally among youths and students step by step has a political meaning: to be included in political agenda and actions.[9] And it was done when most of the "Big Men[10]" of other political spectrum of opposition still kept it in silence.

Recommendation

There should be a front for Indonesian progressive-radical movements and Maubere people's struggle since we need one thing--**democracy** in Indonesia--for our own objective. What is our real objective?

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[9] For the first time in 1991, in front of U.S. Embassy, youths and students ask referendum in Maubere ; and they launched demonstrations to protest Dili Massacre.

[10] Mr. Ramos Horta absolutely familiar with these "Big Men."

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"The Sun Never Shone Before the Indonesians Come" Or a Hegemony which Has Failed: Notes on Education from Dili, Bacau and Lospalos

By: Iqbal Tawakal

"...The people of East Timor should not be given the opportunity to receive any education higher than class (grade) 4 of primary school, because if they become of educated they certainly will not want to submit any more". [*Republika*, January 27,28 1993]

During my recent journey to East Timor [ex-Portugese Timor], in the regency of Baucou, I saw a school girls carrying a school bag on which was written in bright colours: "The sun never shone before the Indonesians came." This seem to be one of the metods used to try to draw in the people of East Timor, the population of urban youth jargon, jargon which often does not represent reality. Is it true that conditions in East Timor have changed? Is it true that the people there have accepted integration? Following are my notes from East Timor.

INTEGRATION

Following the poitical cricis in Portugal which began with the military coup in Lisbon on April 25, 1975, a political wave swept across East Timor. The political line of the new Portugese goverment was decolonisation. This promted the formation of new political parties in East Timor. The three largest parties formed in this cricis period were the **União Demokratica Timorense** or **UDT** [Formed on May 11, 1974], the **Associaou Populer Demokratica Timorense** or **APODETI** [foounded on May 27, 1974] and the largest, **Amiciaou Social Demokratica Timorense** or **ASDT** which later changed its name to to **Frente**

Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente, better known as **FRETILIN** [founded on May 20, 1974]. As well as these three, there were also the small parties **KLIBUR OAN TIMOR ASWAIN** or **KOTA**, **PARTIDO** and **TRABALHISTA**. There were ideological differents between these parties, and of course as soon as they were formed they began to compete and to advance their diferent of visions of societal change. In this process of competition to achieve their different political aims, the different parties engaged in a range of ppolitical moves, all designed to further their aims or potition. A coaliltion between **UDT** and **FRETILIN** aimed for realisation of national state, free from Portugese colonilalism. **APODETI**, a small party, sought to further its political ambitions by advocating a programme of integration with the Replubik of Indonesia. **KOTA** wanted East Timor to become independen under Portugese-Indonesian- Australian protectorate.

Then Indonesia began to make moves for the accouption and integration of East Timor into its own teritory. Under the Balibo declaration of November 28, 30, 1975, **APODETI, UDT** [1] and **KOTA** agreed to oppose **FRETILIN**'s November 28 1975 proclamation of the Democratica Replubic of Timor,[2] and appointment of Xavier do Amarald as the Replubic's first the president. The Balibo declaration greatly accerelated the process of Indonesia intervention in East Timor. .....

A "Loving and Affectionate" Approach?

After the majority of **FRETILIN** supporters had been eradicated the opportunity was open for a "non violent" approach to the management of East Timor by the Indonesia. In 1989 a "loving and affetionate" approach was introoduced, with the aim of "embarcing" the East Timorese population. Technical personel were brought from Java, Madura, Bali, Kupang, Flores and ohter places to "civilise" the people of East Timor who were said to be "lazy." At the some timi, the remnants of **FRETILIN** remained in the mountained. They maintained their position that they had already formed a "goverment" and had a president.

The people of East Timor themselves still recognised the existence of **FRETILIN**. The labelling of Fretilin as a "Security Disturbers' Mouvement [Gerakan Pengacau Keamana: GPK] by the Indonesian goverment didn't change the value that the local population put on the group's political activities. Sympathy towards **FRETILIN** was increased by the fair labour relations they practised. For example in a number of places **FRETILIN** opened up rice and corn fields which were worked in cooperation with local people. Their produce would be divided up fairly. In the eyes of the local people, **FRETILIN** ewre "good people." They never did anything to harm the population, and never treated them as enemies. This was in reflected, for example, during a shoot out which occured on October 5, 1992, in front of the Bacoau Regional General Hospital in the regency of Bacoau, when about 50 armed **FRETILIN** militia attempted to free one of their comrades--he had been wounded in a skirmish between the mililtary [ABRI] and **FRETILIN** at a shop, and had been taken to the Bacoau hospital. Faced with the local miitary force at the hospital, the **FRETILIN** force chose being harmed. These kind of things make it very easy for **FRETILIN** to achieve the support of the population.

Unlike **FRETILIN**, the military often behaves in a random and arbitrary fashion. In one case, for example, the military killed someone whom they suspected of being a **FRETILIN** member. The corpse was beheaded and the head taken to a village. By this act the soldier armed to show the villager that this is what would be their fate if they become members of sympathisers of **FRETILIN**. However, unsuspected by the soldiers their member but was from that very village. This made the villager go beserk and attack the soldiers. Other acts by the millitary include the raping of village girls [3] or a playing "king of the road" by driving truck or jeeps at a great speed through narrow village streets. All of this makes the population have no respect for those who are the spearhead of integration.

Even civil authorities have not yet been prepared to put into practice the "loving and affectionate" approach. For example, many schoolteacher still use violent methods, such as slapping or hitting their student if they make errors. The exuse

arena for their political activities. For example, when reading out the preamble to the 1945 constitution they emphasise the sentence : "In reality, freedom is the right of all nations ... " They mean that, as far as they are concerned, East Timorese not yet free.

Who Has Taught Them to be Politically Active?

In the discourse of the new order, the answer is clear. "They have been manipulated by the **FRETILIN**, GPK". Although this answer perhaps has elements of truth in it ultimately tends to e selfs justfying. It ignores a range of social problem, which if viewed in a broader perspective, are the real background to the emergence of political consciousness in the local population, and especially amongst students.

Political consciousness began to be formed in East Timorese society from the moment the local people began to questions the Portugese presence. From this point the political understanding of the people began to be broadened. They began to see the importance of politics as a media through which to struggle for their liberation from a variety of froms of exploatation. And they began to push back the false consciousness which had been cultivated by their Portuguese rulers.Now they view the prescence of the fascistnew order regime throuhg the prims of these experiences under the Portuguese. They view Indonesian rule as a new from of colonialism. And furthermore, the prescence of the New Order in East Timor has been maintained by mass-scale killing.

Right up to the present time the policy of total war continues to be applied in East Timor. For example, "sweeping" exercises are regulary carried out, there are great numbers of of check points [in the 210 km of roads from Dili to Baucoau and on to Lospalos [lavtem] there are 10 check post] and there is tight surveillence in public meeting places, especially churches, place of accomodation and restaurants. All of this makes daily life very unconfortable. Why? because all of these

given by teachers for such actions is that their students can only be disciplined with violence.

This kind of behaviour by teacher actually copies the methods used by the millitary in the maintenance of discipline. For example, even now, in East Timor one can perhaps easly witness the local people showing "great respect" whenever continues because during the early stages of integration the military punished whoever did not show respect.

The "loving affection" approach, which attempted to embrace the people of East Timor, has failed. This failure was caused by the continued use of the "loving and affectionate " approach. A repport compiled from statements by eye witnesses and family members and released nine months after the incident, concluded that 273 were killed, 255 were missing and 376 were injured.[4] This research concluded that the Santa Cruz incident was not accident. This is becabuse in the days which followed it, on the 14th, 15th, 17th and 23rd of November, there accured a series of massacre of eye witness to the November 12 killings.[5]

This kind of force and violence definitely has its consequnces, it is now possible to find in a range of places in East Timor, great harted for the army. The soldiers are aware of this harted and from durk to morning they evacuate their guard posts.

At the same time, teachers at junior high school level experience acts of resistance in the day to day behaviour of their students. For example some students may not wear their uniforms, although they own them. Others dress untidily, roll up their shirt sleeves very high in the style of tough guys. This kind of attitude is delliberately intended to have themselves called up before their teachers. Once they have the opportunity to be face to face with their teachers , the students put forward arguments and excuses to defend their behaviour. Such meetings are an arena where the students are able to sharpen their debating skills and turn back on themselves the logic of the arguments used by their teachers.

Students from junior and senior secondary schools are begining to seacrh for what they consider to be the most effective form of vailed resistance. They have made the flag raising ceremonies which take place every Monday into another

surviellence activities are carried out the military. The military are the principal target of the **FRETILIN** militia. Being close to the military means runing the risk of being hit by stray bullet during a FRETILIN attack.

Apparently investors also share this feeling of unconfortable and are reluctant to invest their capital in East Timor. As we know, after the bloody November 12, 1991, incident at Santa Cruzs, Dilli, the goverment has invited capitalists to develope East Timor. However up to now it still seems that they lack the couage or are not aware of the potential of East Timor's natural resources and so are recultant to invest their money in the province. The recultance of privat capital to enter East Timor makes it difficult for the majority of the local people to find non agricultural employment. It can be said that economic life has stagnated. If can be said that there have been no major economic changes since Portuguese times poverty is spread relatively evenly. The small houses which are a cannot sight through out East Timor usually about 1,5 meters high, 3 to 4 square meters in area, with walls made of waren bamboo or sugar palm and roofs made of corrugated iron or coconut or sugar palm leaves.

Rain is very infrequent. Most of the soil is invertile an dry and is rocky and contains much limestone.This makes it hard to cultivate crops. Around Dili, Manotutu, Bacau, Laga, and towards Lautem, the land is dry and barren. Between Lautem and Laspalos, however, natural conditions are relatively good--there is much plant life, including some which frome quite thick forests. The air temperature, except in Laspalos, range between 31 and 33 celcius. To provide themselves with food, East Timorese grow corn and rice in the rainy season.

The arid and infertile natural conditions makes difficult the birth of a local rural bourgeois class through the commodification of agricutural products. There is no process of capitalist develoment in the villages. This even a working class has not been formed. This obstruck the mobility of the population and the migration from village to town--even the towns offer few employment prospects. It is from amoungst migrants from other islands that a trading class in East Timor can be

expected to developed. Such migrants' most common forms of activities are to open foodstalls or small shops selling cheap goods, as well as tiny business like boarding houses, transportation, simple handicraft manufacture [6] and so on. However up to this point this private sector does not absorb much labour. Thus when local people seek work out side of the village/agricultural enviroment, they tend to turn to goverment offices [work in the bureocracy]

It is those who work for the goverment who seen "lazy" in comparison to their workmates from out "lazy" people rarely go into their offices, sometimes doing so only to collect their wages.

"HALF-HEARTED" HEGEMONY

According to the East Timor regional office of the Departemet of Education and culture, in 1992 there were 590 primary schools with 97.008 studenths and 477.98 techers in the province. Also, were 97 junior high schools with 38.991 students and 1348 teachers, as well as 31 senior high schools, there were 8 senior economics high schools with 3587 students and 186 teachers, 2 technical High School with 949 students and 71 teachers, 1 Economics High School with 289 students and 17 teachers, 1 Social Education with 226 students and 41 teachers, and 1 Agricultural High School with 172 students and 11 teachers. There were also a number of teachers training schools. In 1991 there were listed 3 teachers' Education Schools with 530 students and 74 teachers' training course [with a course for training Junior High School Teachers with 144 students and 5 teachers. And since the 1985/1986 teaching year the open University has been running in Dili.[7]

Education in East Timor has crearly expanded quantitatively since integration in extraordinary fashion. How about the quality?

In the following section where this question of quality is addressed, it will be argued that education in East Timor has been carried through in half-hearted manner, it can be said that teachers present to their students all the material in the curriculum determined by the central goverment. However, the capacity of students

to absorbs this material is very low, may be not even 20% is absorbed. Why is this so? *Firts*, all of material is presented in Indonesian, a "new, " language. Just because students in the third class of junior high school have attained a low level of finency in Indonesian, does not mean that they no longer have any difficulties using this languege. Many students even in class 3 of senior high school still have difficulties reading and writing in Indonesian.

If the Indonesian goverment strongly wishes to seriously develope East Timorese society so that the people there have an "approriate" way of thinking, why cannot teachers present their lesson in Tetum? [Tetum is the local languange most used in daily interaction]

Second, there are no books. This is despite the fact that books are the most effective means for communication in East Timor, becouse other methods such us television, radio and newspapers are all luxury goods.[8] The price of newspapers is still to expensive--1,000 rupiah per issue foe one day old editions.

The lack of reading material amoungts students--who should from the embryo of a critical society--makes it possible for them to be engaged in practical political activities. Foe example many junior and senior high school students made and distributed leaflets and posters in the events surrounding the Sannta Cruzs incident of November 12, 1991. Teachers acknowledge that their East Timorese students will argue and become angry if they are called ignorant. Even if they cannot follow the material given them in class, because of their practical political activities--during the oppose the Indonesia goverment--they feel themselves to be intellegent in both thought and deed. For them, ignorance would be simply to accept their fate.[9]

CLOSING REMARKS

It is clear that the New Order is continuing to hang on to absolute metods of rule in East Timor: just as the Dutch applied the politics of *rust en orde* [peace and order] in Indonesia during the colonial period. The New Order is imposing its

hegemony over East Timorese society by means of its "development" programmes, which in essence only aim to produce a confortable investment climate. The depolitication of non-EastTimorese Indonesian society which has been widely carred out since 1965 has itself only benefited the investment climate. In other words, it has brought the owners of capital to the fore and resulted in the creation of a wide a social gap between rich and poor. Depoliticatisation repesents the retreat of society, and is exactly the opposite to the concept of develoment for the progress of society.

During my brief journey, it could be seen quite clearly that the majority of the people of East Timor continue to reject integration, at view it interms of invasion and occopation.

Before we think about what kind of devellomennt is appropriate for East Timor inthe future, we have to return to the principal problem: is the integration of this territory into the state of Indonesia correct? Would Indonesia be willing to release East Timor if a free referendum was held which rejected integration?

The rejection of forced integration by the people of East Timor has meant that the production process [especialy of oil the most abundant natural resource owned by Eaast Timor, contained in the Timor gap] has been stalled. This is becouse of the continuing prolonged state of war.

What is more, if only the New Order would realise it, up to now East Timor has not contributed anything either to the goverment treasury or to the pockets of th capitalists. What has happened has been instead the expenditure of huge sums to found the military in the territory. In addition, Indonesia has been under international pressure. **FRETILIN** continues to have international campaigners as well as supporters in a number of countries, Australia and Portugal, who work for the liberation of East Timor from Indonesia. As a result the international position of East Timor is still unsettled even in the U.N.[10]

The problem of East Timor at the very last has consequences for the Indonesia' foreign trade with members if the European Economic Comunity [EEC]. Portugal is

presently the chair of the EEC. This has led this body to apply a number of measures which obstruck the entry of Indonesian commodities into Europe. And this is at time when the national economy is an a poor state. It is also worth stressing the need to be consistent with the 1945 Constitution which proclaims the right to independence of other nations. It is also worth remembering the potition advocated by he Indonesian goverment following a session of the council for political stability and security on october 8, 1974. One point inthe statement from this council stated "Indonesia respect the right of the people of Portuguese Timor to determine their own future" Given all of these things, there would be nothing wrong with Indonesia reviewing once more the problems of East Timor.

[MARCH 1993]

[1] On May 27, 1975 **UDT** put out a communique which unilaterally cancelled its ecalition with **FRETILIN** on August 11, 1975, if carried out the "Moviemento Revolutionario Anti Comunista [Anti communist Revolutionary Movement]." **UDT** could carry out this action because it had obtained arms from the police force in Dili. **UDT** followers tortured followers of **FRETILIN** and those followers of **APODETI** who were communists. [AB Lapian and JR Chaniago, *Timor-Timur Dalam Gerak Pembangunan*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1988].

[2] The proclamation was made after **FRETILIN** had successfully hit back at **UDT** after it staged its "Moviemento." Almost all of the territory of East Timor was under the control of **FRETILIN** at this time.

[3] It seems that up this point there has been little development of localised prostitution. The only such locality is in Dili not from the beach--in the area know as "warung jenggol."

[4] East Timor oriental, 12 November, 1991, List of Victims/Liste Des Victimes, published in French by Peace is Possible in East Timor, Ecumenical Assosiation, Rua De Compalide, 215-4D, 1000 Lisbon, Portugal, translated into English as *Santa Cruzs cemetery, 12th November 1991*, subtitled: *Massacres occuring on the 12th and soo after, eyewitness account of a young man who escaped* , translated by the West Australia Translation Service Centre. See also: E*ast Timor, New Santa Cruz, casualty figure : 273 died*, Tapol Bulletin, No 113, October 1992.

[5] Ibid

[6] It seems the traditional woven tais cloth from Dili and basket work from Luguisa can now be traded as souvenirs for tourists. However other local producers find it difficult to compete with product from out side of East Timor. For example, eartheware vessels produced by the "Productive Economic Activities Units, Ceramic Departement, Youth assoutiation of Libor, Manatuto" are unable to compete with similar goods produced in Asongan village, Yogyakarta [see *Republica*, January 27, 1993].

[7] see *Republica*, January 28, 1993.

[8] 24 hour electricity supplies are avaliable only on Dili. In other towns, although the Cable Network is quite adequate, electricity is only avaliableat night and even then not always [towns receive electricity in turns]

[9] Discussion with several Junior and Senior High School teachers in Bacoau and Lospalos, November, 1992 .

[10] It appears that international support will continue so long as the people East Timor continue to be able to demonstrate their resistence to Indonesia. Recently, in the middle of March, **FRETILIN** Militia killed 2 soldiers and 2 Yogyakarta University students [from a students regiment] who were carrying out their term of obligatory rural social work in Lospalos. This occured while Xanana [the post president/chairman of the Central Committee of **FRETILIN**] was being tried in an Indonesian court it seems that this action was to prove, once again, that **FRETILIN** is still active. The less of Xanana has not incapictated them.